MANGALORE UNIVERSITY

SYNOPSIS OF THE DOCTORAL THESIS

Impact of Land Reforms in Vorvady Village, Udupi District, Karnataka State Since Independence: An Assessment

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Introduction

India by and large has been traditionally an agrarian society where millions of people depend on agriculture for their sustenance. As a basic factor of production land has, since times immemorial, played an important role in deciding the socio-economic relations in the Indian society. In pre-colonial times land relations were defined in accordance with the age-old traditions where King was the master of the entire land and whoever enjoyed any rights in it was inevitably a tenant of the King, to be evicted at will by the ruler. However, gradually the feudal elements which received land grants from the state due to a variety of reasons, not least being the need of the King to compensate for the services rendered, appropriated themselves into the power of the state and began to enjoy a great amount of privileges on the strength of land access and the revenue that it yielded. As a result, the agrarian society was hierarchically stratified with masses of landless labourers and tenants-at-will at the bottom. This lowest rung suffered exploitation, inequity, insecurity, starvation and violence throughout history all over the world and as also in India.

Land, agriculture and revenue thus constituted the backbone of the economy till capitalistic industrialized economy emerged during the colonial or modern period. In the Indian context, hence, we find a few rulers taking up land reforms to maximize revenue collection. The Chalukyas, the Cholas, the Vijayanagara Kings, the Khiljis, the Tughlaqs, the Afghans and the Mughals brought about a series of changes in land administration. Sher Shah Suri, Akbar and a few other rulers are still remembered for their contributions to the streamlining of land administration. The whole focus of reforms was on revenue collection and not the welfare of the peasants in the pre-British rule.

The British also initiated significant reforms in land administration with a view to maximizing the collection and appropriation of revenue. One major step was the introduction of Permanent Settlement in 1793. Since then till independence the colonial rule focused its attention on all the key players in the agrarian economy – the Zamindars, ryots, tenants and landless labourers. The frequent peasant insurgencies in colonial India against exploitation prodded the colonial rulers to initiate reform measures, which they did in a halfhearted manner.

The colonial exploitation and the vision of a free India made the nationalist leaders give a high priority to streamline the land systems immediately after Independence as the amelioration of the plight of the peasantry was considered as the prime object of a 'welfare state'. This thinking resulted in land reforms drive being taken up in all seriousness.

Land reforms focus on the redistribution of land from the rich to the poor resting on the concept of 'land to the tiller'. It includes, in its totality, regulation of ownership, operation, leasing, sales and inheritance of land. The adoption and implementation of land and tenancy reforms was left to the state governments with the enactment of the Indian Constitution.

Scope of the Study

The present doctoral work is an empirical study to understand the impact of land reforms in a micro area. The study examines the effects of land reforms in a typical village in Udupi district in the state of Karnataka focusing on the measures taken by the government. The aim is to assess the impact of land reforms that could serve as a ground level pointer to the effectiveness of the land reform measures at the micro level.

The study is set against the backdrop of land and revenue administration in the colonial Canara region of Karnataka. In this study, village level evidence combined with state-level indicators of actual land reform implementation was used to explore the impact of land reform over a long-time horizon. Doing so, and distinguishing different forms of land reform and their likely impacts, provides a number of insights. First, land reform had a positive impact on accumulation of assets in the form of physical as well as human capital. Partly land reform did promote economic growth. Second, land reform provided disproportionate benefits to households with lower initial level of assets pointing towards a positive impact on equity. Third, we do find that the impact of reform decreases with time.

The field survey included questions on village level land reform implementation and the involvement of individual households complemented the current analysis in three ways. First, it allowed a distinction between benefits that accrue to beneficiary households directly and those that are due to community-wide effects e.g. increase in labor demand and wage rates. Second, by allowing to trace the time profile of such effects, it allowed inferences on the impact of one-time transfers and on the extent and magnitude of possible policy-induced 'second generation' land reform issues. Finally, by comparing the contribution of land to household welfare for different segments in the population to that of other factors, it was possible to more precisely assess the relevance of land reform and how it may have changed over time.

The evidence suggests that certain types of land reform legislation that may, at one point in time, have been very beneficial may, over time, lose their impact. As this is generally associated with a steep decline in new land reform activity, this implies neither a lack of effectiveness of land reform policies nor the need to abandon such policies in a wholesale manner. At the same time, it does suggest that more innovative thinking about ways to achieve the objectives of earlier land reform in a more complex environment will be needed. Combining the aggregate picture emerging from our data with household and community-level evidence could provide useful insights in this respect.

Assessed from the point of view of two broad objectives namely, social justice and economic efficiency, land reforms, has been partially successful. Since the adoption of land reforms, the pattern of ownership in the country changed and the social value created has been significant. On the question of increasing productivity, it is difficult to assess the exact contribution of land reforms because productivity has been more related to the technical revolution ushered in the Indian agricultural sector.

Geographical Settings

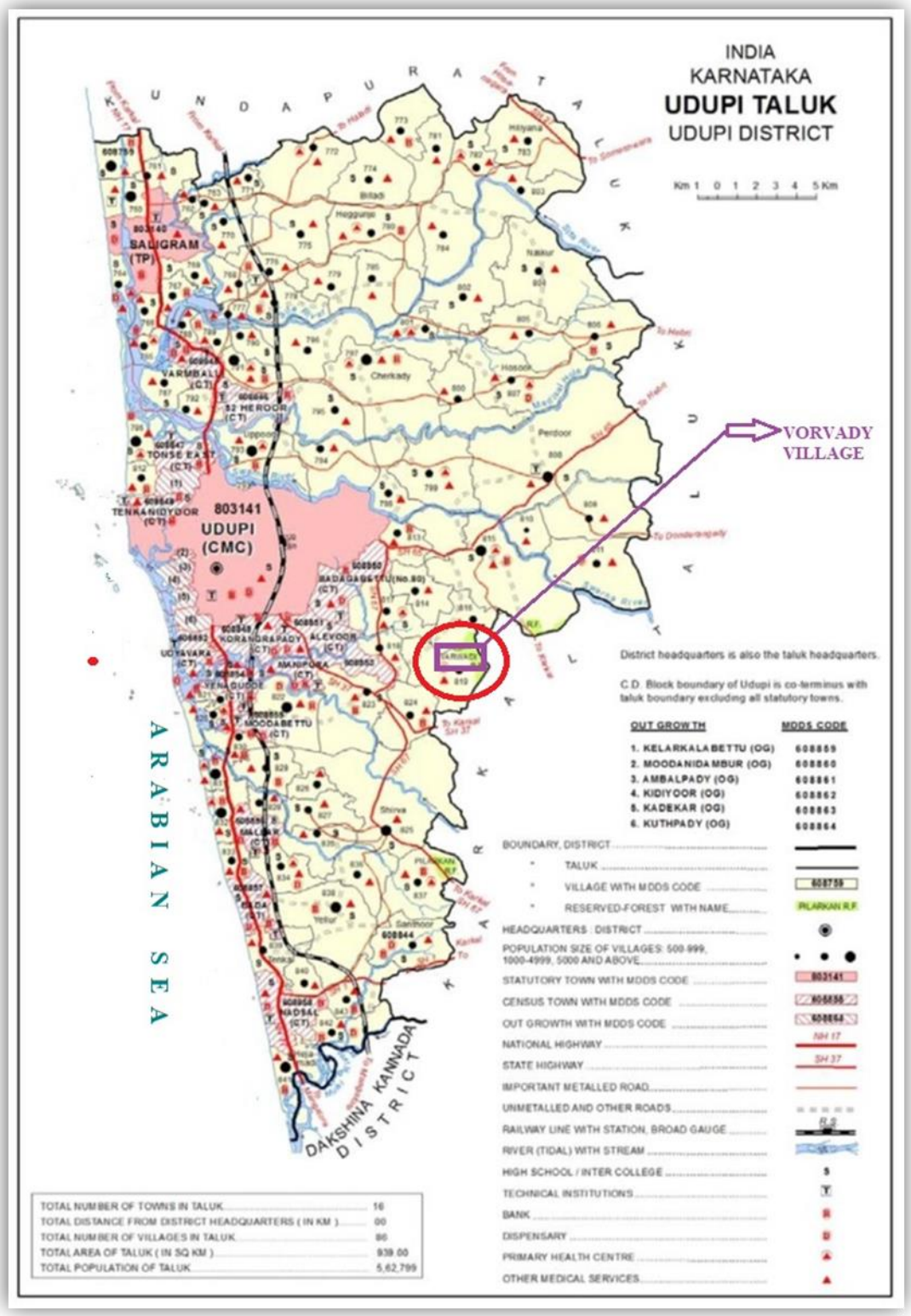
Vorvady village lies in the coastal district of Udupi and is situated at the foot of Western Ghats running along the West Coast of Karnataka. Situated on the western coastal side, the district lies between North Latitude 13^{o} 8’ and 14^{o} and East longitude 74^{o} 30’ and 75^{o} 13’. The climate of this region is marked by heavy rainfall, high humidity and oppressive weather in the hot seasons. On an average, on 121 days in a year, the district gets rainfall. The weather conditions of the region are well suited for the cultivation of paddy in the fields and for raising plantation crops like Arecanut, Coconut and Banana on the slopes of hills and in the valleys. The average rainfall in the district ranges from 3941 mm to 4766 mm. The hot season from March to May is followed by the Southwest monsoon season from June to September. October and November constitute the retreating monsoon or post-monsoon season.

Demographic Profile

Udupi district has a total population of 11,77,361 with males at 5,62,131 and females 6,15,230 while the village under study has a total population of 2033 out of which males are 1022 and females are 1011. About 63% of the village population is in between 18 and 60 years and 16% is above 60 years. The literacy rate for the village is 81% with 1647 total literates. Out of a total of 416 households in the village, 66 households are scheduled castes

and scheduled tribes, 19 households are Christians, 26 households are Bunts and one household belongs to Muslims while the remaining are Konkanis and Brahmins.

Location Map of Vorvady Village


INDIA
KARNATAKA
UDUPI TALUK
UDUPI DISTRICT
VORVADY VILLAGE
803141
UDUPI
(CMC)
ARABIAN SEA
DAKSHINA KANNADA DISTRICT
District headquarters is also the taluk headquarters.
C.D. Block boundary of Udupi is co-terminus with taluk boundary excluding all statutory towns.
OUT GROWTH
MDDS CODE
1. KELARKALABETTU (OG) 608859
2. MOODANIDAMBUR (OG) 608860
3. AMBALPADY (OG) 608861
4. KIDIYOOR (OG) 608862
5. KADEKAR (OG) 608863
6. KUTHPADY (OG) 608864
TOTAL NUMBER OF TOWNS IN TALUK 10
TOTAL DISTANCE FROM DISTRICT HEADQUARTERS (IN KM) 00
TOTAL NUMBER OF VILLAGES IN TALUK 86
TOTAL AREA OF TALUK (IN SQ KM) 939.00
TOTAL POPULATION OF TALUK 5,62,799

Land systems and Relations in Canara prior to Independence

Landed intermediaries existed in Canara in the pre-Colonial period and they continued to flourish in the Colonial period with the full patronage of the British rulers. Under the religious category were the temples and mutts. They were allotted extensive land grants not only by the government but also by the local chieftains and landlords. The other category of non-religious intermediaries was the landed gentry.

The land revenue system adopted for Canara by the British was mainly 'Ryotwari' in character. Actually, the basis of ryotwari system was the division of the whole area into fields by survey, each field being valued at a fixed rate per acre and the assessment was settled there upon. But on the western coast the ryotwari settlement had been introduced even before conducting the settlement survey. In Canara, lands of different kinds of unknown extents and lying often in different villages constitute a holding, termed a warg and the assessment was fixed in lump sum there on. For convenience in the land-revenue collection, settlement was not on fields but on holdings (warg) without any alteration in their size. The pre-existing tenancy relations of Mulageni (hereditary permanent tenants) and Chalageni (tenants at will) continued and varieties of agrestic servitude bearing characteristics of both serfdom and slavery were palpable and widespread, though slavery per se was abolished in the territories of the East India company vide Anti-Slavery Act of 1843. The upper castes of Brahmins, Jains and Bunts controlled the land while the lower castes essentially provided the labour for tilling the lands.

The British administrators saw that while securing the state revenue they must also secure private landed rights. Under native rule, there had been no such thing as legal security for titles to land; especially not for interests that had been partially submerged or reduced to a secondary grade. Hence the British Government found itself face to face with the task of giving legal security and definition to various degrees and kinds of right or interest in the land; from that of the great landlord who received a 'title-deed of perpetual ownership' to the humbler 'sub proprietor' or 'tenure holder ' or 'occupancy tenant.' This recognition and definition, it will be observed, was not only necessary to give a secure position to the person directly responsible for the revenue, it was equally necessary for the due apportionment of the remaining profit arising from the land after the revenue was paid. One significant change that was introduced was the collection of revenue only in cash which had made a drastic change in the traditional revenue system. It had a serious implication of introducing a wide

network of money economy leading to the emergence of merchant money lenders in a basically agrarian economy.

Evolution of Land Reforms during Colonial Period

In the colonial period several reform measures to regulate the agrarian relations were implemented starting with The Permanent Settlement of 1793. The Permanent Settlement had left three major issues to be settled: (i) level of coercion the landlord could use on tenants, (ii) freedom to raise rents and (iii) conditions for eviction of a tenant. Based on the complaints from zamindars the Regulation VII of 1799 was passed where the pendulum swung towards the zamindars and the key concession was the freedom to use physical coercion on their own account, without the permission of a court. Further complaints, this time from the tenants, led them to receive, in Regulation V of 1812, some protection from asset seizure by the zamindar, but other provisions had a loophole that facilitated tenant eviction. Thus, up to the early 19th century the colonial state primarily regulated zamindar-tenant relations to attain its fiscal objectives.

Meanwhile, the problem of sub-infeudation was growing. To deal with their problems in revenue collection zamindars sometimes used a middleman, who, in turn, was given a perpetual lease and a fixed rent, thereby subcontracting a Permanent Settlement. In 1819 legal status was given to these middlemen, known as Patnidars. Zamindars made liberal use of their coercive powers, and tenant protection eventually came to the forefront due to fears of agrarian unrest. This led to the passing of the Bengal Rent Act of 1859 where criteria were laid down for the identification of occupancy tenants who would, in principle, have security of tenure, and protection from arbitrary rent increases. Occupancy rights, which were permanent and inheritable, were given when the tenant had occupied the same piece of land for twelve years. Bengal Tenancy Act 1885 limited rental increases to 12.5%, with no further increases allowed for 15 years and its most important clause was one that gave a tenant an occupancy right if he had held land anywhere in the village for twelve years. This was done to counter the practice of tenant-switching.

The period also saw the emergence of the Ryotwari system in South India as an alternative to the Zamindari system up north. The Ryotwari-Zamindari distinction is a central organizing idea in Indian agrarian history. However, the sheer diversity of pre-existing arrangements, and the political need to compromise with existing landed interests meant that, in practice, both systems could deviate from norm. In particular, in the ryotwari areas the government's agreement could be with a member of the village elite holding a substantial

amount of land (cultivated by tenants) rather than with a cultivator. A category of large-scale landholding known as inam (reward or gift), which was charged low tax rates, was also recognized by the Company administration. Therefore, intermediaries between the cultivator and the state continued to be important. The phenomenon of land transfer also meant that landownership could be very unequal and tenancy important even in the ryotwari areas.

Commercialization of agriculture in colonial India facilitated the extraction of surplus from the peasantry through land revenue demand in cash and the transfer of this surplus from India to Britain by bringing agricultural produce to the export market. Similarly, differentiation of the peasantry in India by and large did not lead to the rise of the rich peasant/capitalist farmer but to the creation of a rentier landlord class. The colonial state made a very high tax demand on agriculture. Under colonialism Indian agriculture experienced the growth of landlordism and rack renting on a very wide scale. In the zamindari areas absentee landlordism and subinfeudation was rampant. In the ryotwari areas, too, despite the direct settlements between the state and the peasant producer, landlordism and tenancy became widespread over time. Further, the growing differentiation of the peasantry and the consequent concentration in landownership was adding rapidly to the number of landless hungering for land given the context of unavailability of any alternative employment. The heavy demands on the cultivator made by the colonial administration led to a third major feature of colonial agriculture: extreme indebtedness of the peasantry. Bonded labour or debt bondage became a common feature in large parts of the country. The overwhelming bulk of the peasants' debt was contracted at usurious rates from private moneylenders. Indian agriculture therefore remained at a very backward level.

The use of land as collateral and its transfer to fulfill debt obligations were facilitated by institutional changes in the colonial period. One reason for this was the systematic creation of a documented individual property right in land. A few other significant reform measures to regulate land transfers were Deccan Agriculturists Relief Act 1879 which introduced checks and balances into the operation of the civil courts, when it came to peasants' debts, and, especially, transfer of land for debt repayment and Punjab Land Alienation Act 1900 which restricted the transfer of land from "agricultural" to "non-agricultural" tribes.

Land Reforms: Impact of National and Peasant Movements

Since the late nineteenth century, the early nationalists had been highlighting the backwardness of Indian agriculture under colonialism due to excessive competition for land caused by colonialism and rack-renting of tenants, the subdivision of land and so on. They

were particularly critical of the high land revenue collected by the colonial state which not only deprived the peasant of any capacity to save and invest in agricultural operations but even cut into his very subsistence. Some of the early nationalists criticized the oppressive landlord-tenant relationship and the problem of usury and argued for change.

The Indian National Congress, virtually since its inception in 1885, demanded that there should be a low permanently fixed land tax and permanent settlement of land revenue demand even in the temporary settled areas so that periodic enhancement of revenue demand could not occur.

The twentieth century saw the emergence of a much stronger association between the peasant movements and the wider national movement, each deriving and giving strength to the other. The 1920s saw peasant movements emerging in Uttar Pradesh and Malabar in close association with the Non-Cooperation and Khilafat movements raising demands like security of tenure for tenants, decrease in rent, abolition of illegal exactions in cash, kind or labour and so on. The Bardoli Satyagraha (1928) in Gujarat marked the consolidation of the peasant movement and the national movement with leaders like Sardar Patel and Mahatma Gandhi playing a direct and active role in it.

The 1930s and 1940s saw the peasantry moved further center stage in the nationalist agenda and the peasant movement now grew as an integral part of the national movement. The Civil Disobedience movement, the most powerful mass movement launched by the Indian National Congress, took on the form of no-tax and no-rent campaigns in many parts of the country such as Uttar Pradesh and Andhra. Gandhiji himself issued a manifesto to the Uttar Pradesh kisans (peasants) asking them to pay only 50 per cent of the legal rent.

During the twenty-eight months between 1937-39, when the Congress formed ministries in most of the provinces of British India, valiant efforts were made to implement the agrarian programme and the election pledge. A series of legislations were passed by the various ministries on issues concerning tenancy rights and indebtedness. Most provinces passed laws regulating the activity of the money lenders and providing debt relief. In Bombay 40,000 tied serfs or bonded labour were liberated. In a sense this brief interlude of Congress rule served as a mirror of the future for both the dominant classes in rural India and the oppressed and both learnt their lessons though perhaps somewhat unevenly.

It is with this backdrop that the land reform effort in post-independence India has to be examined.

Framework for Implementation of Land Reforms in post-Independence India

In the decades following Independence, India passed a significant body of land reform legislation. The Constitution left the adoption and implementation of land and tenancy reforms to state governments. This led to much variation in the execution of these reforms across states and over time, a fact that has been used in empirical studies trying to understand the causes and effects of land reform.

Summarizing, land reform legislation in India consisted of four main categories—tenancy reform, abolition of intermediaries, land ceiling, and land consolidation. The first category of land reform, namely tenancy reform, imposed regulation that attempted to improve the contractual terms faced by tenants, including crop shares and security of tenure. The second category was abolition of intermediaries, aimed at curtailing the power of large landowners and ensuring that the cultivator of the land was in direct contact with the government, which minimized unjust extraction of surplus by the landowner. The third form of land reform was the imposition of a ceiling on landholdings that aimed to redistribute surplus land to the landless. Finally, consolidation of landholdings constituted the fourth kind of land reform, which ensured that small bits of land belonging to the same small landowner but situated at some distance from one another could be consolidated into a single holding to boost viability and productivity.

By 1972, laws had been passed in all the States to abolish intermediaries. All of them had two principles in common namely abolition of intermediaries between the state and the cultivator and payment of compensation to the owners.

However, for re-distribution, the main obstacle to land acquisition was the fundamental right to property which was guaranteed by The Constitution of 1949. Things began to change in 1979 when the *Forty-Fourth Amendment* was enacted which extinguished the fundamental right to property. What the *Forty-Fourth Amendment* did was to degrade the right to property from its earlier hallowed status of a fundamental right to its current status – that of a constitutional right.

Process of Land Reforms in Karnataka

Karnataka has a prominent position as one of the few states that took the land reforms policy seriously, not only by enacting appropriate law, but also by implementing it with great vigor. The State of Karnataka itself came into existence on 1 November 1956, after the amalgamation of the States of Mysore and Coorg, and parts of the States of Madras, Hyderabad, and Bombay. Each of the constituent areas, with the exception of Coorg, had

been formulating and implementing land reforms measures of their own even before they joined the integrated State of Karnataka. Further, as in most other parts of India, the prevalence of feudalistic land tenure systems, such as jagirs and inams, were widely prevalent in Karnataka.

The challenge before the new State was to formulate an essentially uniform law that would, at the same time, accommodate local problems and variations to the greatest degree possible. Comprehensive legislation for the entire state, called the Mysore (later, Karnataka) Land Reforms Act, 1961 was effectively brought into force from 2 October 1965. Later, the Act was once again comprehensively amended and the amendments brought into force from 1st March 1974. It is from this date that the implementation of land reforms in the State was undertaken with the utmost earnestness. During the period 1974 to 1984 the implementation of land reforms aroused intense political fervor, and this was backed up by efficient administrative support.

By way of an amendment to the Karnataka Land Reforms Act, agricultural labourers were given an entitlement to seek ownership rights over the dwelling units inhabited by them. This provision came into effect in 1979. This provision too has been acclaimed as an anti-exploitation measure, and one that even had the indirect effect of curbing the practice of bonded labour.

Karnataka introduced another powerful piece of pro-poor legislation in the form of the Karnataka Scheduled Castes and Scheduled Tribes (Prohibition of Transfer of Certain Lands) Act, 1978. Under this law, if any land granted by the government to a member of these vulnerable groups, is transferred to anyone else in violation of the conditions stipulated in such grant, it shall be restored to the original grantee by declaring the transaction null and void and by evicting the purchaser. This too was implemented with great zeal during the initial years following enactment of the law and has been appreciated and emulated in the rest of India as a very progressive measure.

Hypotheses on Land Reforms Impact

To provide the basis for our investigation of the impact of land reforms at the village level leading from tenancy reform and redistribution of land, some hypotheses were formulated, as listed below.

Hypothesis 1: It is expected that there will be a decrease over time in the impact of land reform legislation and for the following three reasons: First, as there is a fixed amount

of land available for redistribution, administrators will have an incentive to tackle easy cases first, implying that over time the speed of implementation may slow and the unit cost of additional implementation will rise.

Second, legislation mandating involuntary land transfers will have negative side-effects, the severity of which will increase over time. An effect that has been widely documented as an immediate consequence of tenancy reforms is tenant eviction and adoption of wage-labor based self-cultivation, fallowing, or a more capital-intensive model of operation. Also, artificial subdivision of land holdings has been reported to lead to conflicts, sub-optimal patterns of land utilization, and limited investment, despite its potential to reduce land concentration. And, most importantly, to eliminate the risk of being affected by tenancy reforms, large land owners will stop renting out, thus reducing supply of land available for cultivation by small producers and often decreasing productivity. Ceiling restrictions will affect the ability to use land as collateral more broadly and thus can reduce credit access for the entire agricultural sector and lead to under-investment in rural areas more generally.

Third, while the asset-transfer implied in land reform will lead to an immediate increase in beneficiaries' propensity to invest, this positive effect may be counterbalanced by the fact that the land transferred through land reform is often subject to restrictions on transferability through rental or sale. In particular, land that cannot be sold is of little use as collateral to overcome credit market imperfections. Restrictions on rental market transfers of land reform will not only reduce incentives for land-related investment but may also lead to allocative inefficiency as former tenants or their offspring are no longer able or interested to make the most productive use of the land. The severity of all of these inefficiencies would be expected to increase over time and be most pronounced for tenancy reform where continuation of landlords' residual rights adds to tenure insecurity.

Thus, even though available data does not allow disentanglement of cause and effect more specifically, it is expected that impact of land reform legislation or implementation would decrease over time.

Hypothesis 2: The premise for land reforms was essentially that from a view point of social equity resulting from ownership and improved economic condition. Removal of agency cost by abolition of intermediaries clearly leads to a larger accrual of surplus for the beneficiaries and the status of ownership over land and dwelling gained by the abolition of tenancy, pushes towards to an improved social standing within the community. Therefore, the impact due to land reforms is not only economic but also has to be seen in terms of social, non-financial

impacts, including for example the well-being of individuals and communities, social capital and the environment i.e. in terms of social value created.

Accomplishment of Land Reforms in Vorvady village

As per the records in the Directorate of Land Reforms, Udupi Taluk, by the end of June 1979 the total number of applications received from Pernankila village, in the prescribed Form 7 of the government for declaring tenancy, was 284**.**

The order of the Land Tribunal was final. It was neither subject to prior approval of any higher authority nor was it appealable. No civil court had jurisdiction to settle, decide, deal with or question any of its orders. If any party was aggrieved with the Tribunal's order, they could only approach the High court with a writ petition under Article 226 or 227 of the Constitution.

Each Tribunal consisted of four non-government officials with an Assistant Commissioner of the Revenue Department as Chairman. The law laid down that one member of the Tribunal should be a person belonging to the Scheduled Caste or Scheduled Tribe. The cases were decided by majority vote and there would be no quorum without the Chairman. Advocates were barred from appearing before the Tribunal.

About 1100 acres of cultivated land formerly under tenancy was awarded to these 284 declarants who became the new owners of the land. The initial wave of re-distribution of about 1100 acre of land in Pernankila adjudicated by the land tribunal was completed by 1979.

The second round of land re-distribution was not so spectacular. Only 15 applicants applied in the prescribed form 7A for a total area of about 8 acres and one applicant was successful having been awarded 0.12 acre in 2006.

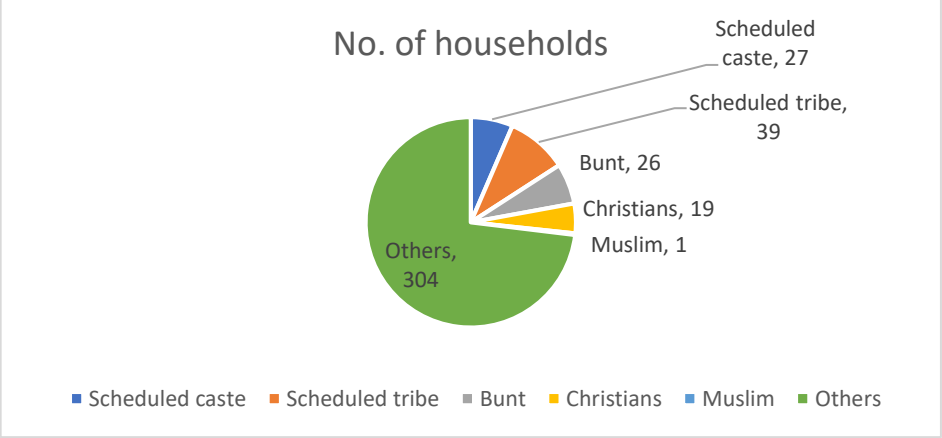
Summary of Findings

Access to household level information allowed us to go beyond earlier analyses, the fact that our data identifies land reform beneficiaries makes it possible to distinguish between the direct effect of such reform on beneficiaries and the broader impact on the local economy.

The total number of households in the village as on date of the survey is 416. The village has a total population of 2033 out of which males are 1022 and females are 1011. The total number of households owning land is 290 while the total number of households owning house is 401. The village demographics show 16% SC/ST households, 5% Christians, 6% Bunts and a solitary Muslim household. The rest are other castes - Billavas, Konkanis and

Brahmins. Total scheduled caste households are 27 out of 416 (6.5%). Total scheduled tribe households are 39 out of 416 (9.4%).

Fig: Caste-wise Distribution of Households in Village



The result of the social outcomes for Vorvady village due to implementation of land reforms law of 1974 has been the enhancement of social equity for the 284 erstwhile tenant households who were the beneficiaries of land re-distribution. The sense of ownership has strengthened their attachment to traditions and ancient religious practices. This is evident from the participation and grandeur with which the rituals are conducted in the village.

In Vorvady people aim to preserve both the tangible as well as the intangible heritage which is demonstrated from their enthusiasm for Daiva/bhuta aradhane or worship of divine spirits. The people of the region follow a dual religious life of worshipping the puranic Gods of the Hindu pantheon as well as the local spirits. These localized and personalized deities are of totemic and animistic origins, apotheosized cultural heroes or attendant spirits of Lord Shiva's retinue. Daiva worship is firmly rooted in the psyche of the people as a living folk religion patronized by village folk as well as the urban elite and is seen to be a rich in features like rituals and beliefs, music and narrations, dances and dialogues, social gatherings and entertainments, trances and oracles, miraculous healing of mental and physical disorders as well as settlement of disputes and quarrels.

These practices continue to this day. Over the years the ceremonies are getting grander in terms of festivities, indicating perhaps the improved economic stature of the villagers and also their underlying need to hold on to their ancient traditions.

The findings have validated most of the hypotheses for the research. The first hypothesis that there would be a decrease over time in the impact of land reform legislation due to three reasons namely- (i) as there is only a fixed amount of land available for

redistribution. This is borne out from the fact that only 15 applicants applied for a total of 8 acres in the second round of land redistribution and only one of them was allotted 0.12 acre in 2006, i.e. almost three decades after the first round of redistribution was completed; -(ii) the second reason i.e. legislation mandating involuntary land transfers will have negative side effects does not seem to have borne out since there has been no instances of tenant eviction or fallowing or any form of forcible reduction in supply of land available for cultivation. The decrease in productivity has been noticed but the reasons for the decrease are not due to the ones hypothesized; -(iii) the third reason, viz., that the asset transferred due to land reform will not lead to the most productive use of land due to credit market inefficiencies as well as restrictions on the transfers of land seems to have borne out due to the reported reduction in productivity due to lack of interest among the former tenants and their offspring. The second hypothesis that there would be an improvement in the social equity due to the social value created by the land reforms has borne out.

From a policy perspective, this study facilitates two main conclusions. First, the positive impact of land reform implies that this measure did address a critical issue in post-independence India and that a determined implementation has provided significant benefits. Second, the decline in the impact of land reform emerging from this analysis, while expected in an environment where new land transfers have come to a virtual standstill, implies that attempts to increase the welfare of the poor by enhancing their land access will have to start from an assessment of existing opportunities to access land, the obstacles preventing such access, the political realities of implementation, and the potential economic returns from land compared to the alternatives.

Given the continuing need to overcome deep-rooted social exclusion and lack of access to economic opportunities, exploring these issues in a greater number of villages will be an important area for future research.

CHAPTERISATION OF THE THESIS

TITLE: **Impact of Land Reforms in Vorvady Village, Udupi District, Karnataka State Since Independence: An Assessment**

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-Framework for Land Reforms post-Independence

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-Aftermath of Land Reforms in Vorvady Village

-Recompense to Landlords

-Assessment of Impact

-Social Value created

-A model for Measuring the Social Value created by Land Reforms

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